

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-07  
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15  
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AMEMBASSY SOFIA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 WARSAW 5490

EO 11652GDS  
TAGS: PINT PL UR SP  
SUBJ: POLISH PRESS ON EUROCOMMUNISM

REF: WARSAW 4811

1. SUMMARY: THE POLISH PRESS TAKES A MIDDLE-OF-THE  
ROAD APPROACH IN ITS FIRST CONTRIBUTION TO THE DEBATE  
OVER EUROCOMMUNISM TRIGGERED BY SANTIAGO CARRILLO'S  
BOOK. TRYBUNA LUDU OF AUGUST 3 STARTS ITS COMMENTARY  
WITH THE ASSERTION THAT THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT HAS  
ALWAYS RESPECTED THE INTERDEPENDENCE BETWEEN "NATIONAL  
AND INTERNATIONAL ELEMENTS." THE ARTICLE INCLUDES:

A) AN ATTACK ON THE WESTERN PRESS FOR CONDUCTING  
AN ANTI-SOCIALIST PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN; B) A REPROACH  
OF CARRILLO FOR USING THE TERM EUROCOMMUNISM, TWISTING  
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THE MEANING OF INTERNATIONALISM, AND CRITICIZING THE  
SOVIET UNION; C) AFFIRMATION OF THE IMPORTANCE OF  
NATIONAL FACTORS FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF COMMUNISM,  
USING THE POLISH EXPERIENCE AS AN EXAMPLE; D) SUPPORT  
FOR THE PRINCIPLE OF NON-INTERFERENCE IN INTERNAL PARTY  
AFFAIRS; AND E) ENDORSEMENT OF "QUIET, SOBER DEBATE"  
AMONG COMMUNIST PARTIES, "BASED ON MUTUAL RESPECT."

END SUMMARY.

2. JERZY KRASZEWSKI, WRITING IN TRYBUNA LUDU OF AUGUST 3, SAYS THE POLISH UNITED WORKERS' PARTY (PZPR) HAS NOT CRITICIZED, AND WILL NOT CRITICIZE, THE PROGRAMS OF FRATERNAL PARTIES. IT RECOGNIZES EACH PARTY'S INDEPENDENCE AND FEELS BOUND BY THE AGREEMENT MADE AT THE BERLIN CONFERENCE. KRASZEWSKI DESCRIBES A "NERVOUS PSYCHOSIS" STIRRED UP BY THE BOURGEOIS PRESS AND SHARED BY SOME COMMUNIST NEWSPAPERS, AS A RESULT OF SANTIAGO CARRILLO'S BOOK AND ITS CRITICAL REVIEW IN NEW TIMES. FOR THIS REASON, HE ADDS, HE IS PROMPTED TO FORMULATE SOME OPINIONS OF HIS OWN ABOUT CARRILLO'S BOOK.

3. KRASZEWSKI SAYS CARRILLO PRESENTED HIS OPINIONS IN A SUPERFICIAL AND IRRESPONSIBLE WAY. HE ALLEGEDLY DEPARTED FROM THE PRINCIPLES OF THE BERLIN CONFERENCE AND TWISTED THE PROPER INTERPRETATION OF THE ESSENCE OF INTERNATIONALISM. THE ISSUES FACING THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT, KRASZEWSKI WRITES, ARE TOO COMPLEX TO BE DESCRIBED WITH THE TERM EUROCOMMUNISM, WHICH WAS INVENTED BY BOURGEOIS PROPAGANDA. HE QUESTIONS WHETHER GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION EVER GAVE RISE TO A POLITICAL DOCTRINE AND QUOTES KADAR AS SAYING THAT THE WESTERN EUROPEAN COMMUNISTS DO NOT NEED A NEW

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 WARSAW 5490

NAME IF THEY SEEK THE SAME POSITIVE CHANGES COMMUNIST

PARTIES EVERYWHERE SEEK. FINALLY, KRASZEWSKI SAYS CARRILLO'S CRITICISM OF THE SOVIET UNION VIOLATES THE PRINCIPLE OF NONINTERFERENCE IN ANOTHER PARTY'S AFFAIRS. HE AFFIRMS THE IMPORTANCE OF THE "UNIVERSAL EXPERIENCE" OF THE SOVIET COMMUNIST PARTY ALONG WITH THE VALUE OF THE PZPR'S EXPERIENCE IN BUILDING SOCIALISM, AND ADDS THAT ANTI-SOVIETISM HAS ALWAYS BEEN A CHIEF WEAPON OF THE BOURGEOISIE IN ITS STRUGGLE WITH THE WORKERS' MOVEMENT.

4. KRASZEWSKI QUOTES LENIN ON THE NEED TO MODIFY TACTICS ACCORDING TO SPECIFIC NATIONAL CONDITIONS.

HE ASSERTS THAT THIS RESPECT FOR THE "NATIONAL FACTOR" CONFIDENTIAL

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IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE SUCCESSES OF COMMUNISM. IF WESTERN CRITICS OBJECTIVELY EXAMINED THE POLISH EXPERIENCE OF BUILDING SOCIALISM, THEY COULD DRAW "INTERESTING AND INSTRUCTIVE" CONCLUSIONS: STARTING WITH A DOMESTIC SITUATION WHERE THERE WAS ARMED OPPOSITION TO COMMUNISM, THE PZPR HAS SUCCESSFULLY FOSTERED THE "MORAL-POLITICAL UNITY OF THE WHOLE NATION." HE ADDS, "IT IS OUR DUTY TO GUARD THIS UNITY AND TO DEEPEN IT IN THE INTEREST OF POLAND--AND SOCIALISM". KRASZEWSKI SAYS EACH BRANCH OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING CLASS DEVELOPS ITS ACTIVITIES ON A NATIONAL BASIS. HOWEVER, ANY EFFORT TO PLACE INTERNATIONALISM AND NATIONALISM IN OPPOSITION TO ONE ANOTHER IS SELF-DEFEATING FOR BOTH THE WORKING CLASS AND THE COUNTRY. THE REAL ENEMY IS ALWAYS THE CAPITALIST CLASS.

5. KRASZEWSKI QUOTES A FRAGMENT OF THE NEW TIMES REVIEW OF CARRILLO'S BOOK WHICH COMMENTS ON THE INTEREST STIRRED BY THE EXCHANGE OF OPINIONS BETWEEN COMMUNIST PARTIES. HE SAYS SUCH EXCHANGE IS NECESSARY. IT

SHOULD BE QUIET, SOBER, AND BASED ON MUTUAL TRUST. HE SAYS DIFFERENCES OF OPINION BETWEEN FRATERNAL PARTIES ARE NATURAL.

THESE DIFFERENCES, HOWEVER, REFLECT THE COMPLEXITY OF THE ISSUES AND HAVE NOTHING IN COMMON WITH WESTERN CLAIMS THAT THERE IS A SPLIT WITHIN THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT.

6. COMMENT: A SENIOR JOURNALIST RECENTLY TOLD AN EMBASSY OFFICER THAT EUROCOMMUNISM IS NOW A MAJOR SUBJECT OF DISCUSSION AMONG POLISH LEADERS. THE KRASZEWSKI ARTICLE IS CAREFULLY WORDED TO ESTABLISH CONFIDENTIAL

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AND INDEPENDENT POSITION FOR THE PZPR, BUT WITHOUT CHALLENGING THE SOVIET UNION. ITS CRITICISM OF THE PSYCHOSIS DISPLAYED BY "SOME COMMUNIST PAPERS" LEAVES OPEN THE QUESTION WHETHER NEW TIMES IS INCLUDED AMONG THEM. END COMMENT.

DAVIES

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Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
22 May 2009  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009